

## Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5443

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE

AMCONSUL CAPETOWN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 4 USUN 3103

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, SF, WA

SUBJ: NAMIBIA - REVISED TALKING POINTS

REF: (A) USUN 3012 AND (B) USUN 3035

1. THE FOLLOWING ARE THE CONTACT GROUP'S REVISED TALKING  
POINTS FOR USE NEXT WEEK IN PRETORIA:

QTE: SECURITY

(I) -- WE WISH TO RECALL THAT ON FOUR OCCASIONS WE RAISED  
THE QUESTION OF THE WITHDRAWAL OF SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY  
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FORCES FROM NAMIBIA. THESE WERE:

1) DURING FIRST ROUND OF TALKS. APRIL 29 NON-PAER  
STATES: TRANSFER OF POWER. IN CONSULTATION WITH THOSE  
MAINLY INVOLVED, THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT WOULD DEVELOP  
A PLAN FOR ITS WITHDRAWAL IN STAGES FROM NAMIBIA TO PREPARE  
A SMOOTH TRANSFER OF POWER AT THE END OF THE POLITICAL  
PROCESS. (THIS PLAN WOULD CLEARLY HAVE A NUMBER OF FINANCIAL

AND PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS THAT WOULD HAVE TO BE CONSIDERED AT THE APPROPRIATE TIME.)

(II) 2) DURING SECOND ROUND OF TALKS. JUNE 10 NON-PAPER STATES: WE ASKED THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT, IN CONSULTATION WITH THOSE MAINLY CONCERNED, TO MOVE QUICKLY TO DRAW UP PLANS FOR A PHASED TRANSFER OF POWER/WITHDRAWAL WHICH SHOULD TAKE PLACE, PROGRESSIVELY THROUGHOUT THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD, BEGINNING WITH THE APPOINTMENT OF THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL.

(III) TO FACILITATE INTERNATIONAL ACCEPTANCE, TWO STEPS ARE ESSENTIAL:

- A) THE UN REPRESENTATIVE MUST BE KEPT CLOSELY INFORMED IN ALL PHASES OF THE PLAN;
- B) THE WITHDRAWAL MUST BE COMPLETED BY INDEPENDENCE, SUBJECT TO WHATEVER ARRANGEMENTS THE NEW NAMIBIAN GOVERNMENT MAY HAVE MADE FOR THE FUTURE.

(IV) 3) DURING JULY 14 DEMARCHE BY PRETORIA AMBASSADORS. TALKING POINTS FOR THAT DEMARCHE READ: THE SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY PRESENCE. THE PRESENCE OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS IS A MAJOR AREA OF DISPUTE. IT IS ARGUED THAT FREE ELECTIONS CANNOT BE HELD AS LONG AS SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY FORCES REMAIN IN NAMIBIA. EVEN AS REGARDS A PHASED WITHDRAWAL IT IS BEING ARGUED THAT IT IS TOO MUCH TO EXPECT OTHERS TO

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RENOUNCE THEIR MILITARY CAPABILITY AS LONG AS ANY SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY FORCES REMAIN IN THE TERRITORY SINCE OTHERS CONCERNED, JUST LIKE SOUTH AFRICA, ARE UNDERSTANDABLY FEARFUL OF THE RISKS IN THE CASE OF A BREAKDOWN IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS. INDEED, SUGGESTIONS HAVE BEEN MADE THAT A U.N. FORCE MIGHT BE REQUIRED TO BALANCE OR REPLACE THE SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY PRESENCE IN NAMIBIA. THE FIVE ARE OF THE VIEW THAT DEVISING THE MEANS TO MEET THESE CONCERNS WILL PROVE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT. RECENT STATEMENTS BY FOREIGN MINISTER BOTHA TEND TO IMPLY THAT THE WITHDRAWAL OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS WILL NOT START UNTIL A NEW NAMIBIAN GOVERNMENT TAKES POWER. THIS APPROACH IS NOT ACCEPTABLE IN THE VIEW OF THE FIVE WHO MADE IT CLEAR DURING THE LAST ROUND OF DISCUSSIONS THAT WITHDRAWAL SHOULD TAKE PLACE PROGRESSIVELY THROUGHOUT THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD BEGINNING WITH THE APPOINTMENT OF THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL.

(V) (1) THE FIVE ARE OF THE VIEW THAT IF THEIR INITIATIVE IS TO HAVE ANY CHANCE OF SUCCESS IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA COMMUNICATE TO THEM AT AN EARLY DATE A SCHEDULE FOR A PHASED WITHDRAWAL OF FORCES FROM NAMIBIA. SUCH A SCHEDULE SHOULD INVOLVE EARLY

AND SUBSTANTIAL TROOP REDUCTIONS WHICH WOULD BEGIN CONCURRENTLY WITH THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE INSTALLATION OF THE U.N. SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE. IT IS UNDERSTOOD FROM OUR EARLIER DISCUSSIONS THAT THE UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WILL TAKE APPROPRIATE STEPS TO SATISFY HIMSELF REGARDING GUARANTEES AGAINST THE POSSIBILITY OF INTIMIDATION FROM WHATEVER QUARTER (INCLUDING THE ARMED FORCES).

(VI) 4) DURING AUGUST 1 DEMARCHE BY PRETORIA AMBASSADORS, TALKING POINTS FOR THAT DEMARCHE READ: A PHASED PLAN OF WITHDRAWAL AND THE QUESTION OF THE ARMED FORCES. THE PRESENCE OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS IN NAMIBIA DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD CONSTITUTES A CENTRAL PROBLEM. OUR CONFIDENTIAL

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POINT OF DEPARTURE IN CONSIDERING THE QUESTION OF TROOP WITHDRAWAL IS THAT ONCE THE PARTIES CONCERNED HAVE COMMITTED THEMSELVES TO PEACEFUL PARTICIPATION IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS, THE THREAT TO SECURITY SHOULD BE GREATLY DIMINISHED. OUR REFERENCE TO INTIMIDATION "FROM WHATEVER QUARTER (INCLUDING THE ARMED FORCES)" APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN MISCONSTRUED. WE ARE OF COURSE OPPOSED TO INTIMIDATION FROM ANY QUARTER WHATSOEVER. INDEED, THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT WILL RECALL THAT OUR ORIGINAL FORMULATION, DURING THE SECOND ROUND OF TALKS IN CAPE TOWN SPOKE OF INTIMIDATION FROM POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE ARMED FORCES. THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT MUST RECOGNISE, HOWEVER, THE SITUATION TO WHICH WE ARE ADDRESSING OURSELVES: THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT ARE EXPECTING SWAPO AND OTHER POLITICAL PARTIES TO AGREE TO TAKE PART IN PEACEFUL ELECTIONS IN NAMIBIA, WHILE A SUBSTANTIAL NUMBER OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS REMAIN IN THE TERRITORY.

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C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (2ND TEXT LINE 6TH WORD

THIS HAS GIVEN RISE TO FEARS IN MANY QUARTERS OF UNDUE  
INFLUENCE DURING THE POLITICAL PROCESS, AND OF UNDUE ADVANTAGE  
IN THE EVENT OF ITS BREAKDOWN.

(VII) IN OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH OTHER PARTIES, WE HAVE STRESSED  
THE IMPORTANCE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT'S READINESS  
TO ACCEPT AN APPROACH WHICH INVOLVED GUARANTEES DURING THE  
POLITICAL PROCESS AGAINST THE POSSIBILITY OF INTIMIDATION  
FROM WHATEVER QUARTER. WE HAVE ALREADY URGED THE SOUTH  
AFRICAN GOVERNMENT TO DRAW UP PLANS FOR A PHASED WITHDRAWAL  
TO TAKE PLACE PROGRESSIVELY THROUGHOUT THE TRANSITIONAL  
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PERIOD BEGINNING WITH THE APPOINTMENT OF THE ADMINISTRATOR-  
GENERAL. IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT THIS SHOULD INCLUDE A SCHEDULE  
FOR A PHASED WITHDRAWAL OF FORCES FROM NAMIBIA, WITH  
EARLY AND SUBSTNTIAL TROOP REDUCTIONS. WITH THIS, AND  
AGREEMENT BY SOUTH AFRICA TO PUT THE PHASED WITHDRAWAL  
SCHEDULE INTO EFFECT, WE WILL BE IN A POSITION TO INSIST  
THAT SWAPO AGREE TO CEASE THE USE OF ARMED FORCE.

(VIII) IT SHOULD BE BORNE IN MIND THAT THE QUESTION OF  
TROOP WITHDRAWALS IS TO BE SEEN IN THE CONTEXT OF THE OVERALL  
ARRANGEMENTS, INCLUDING THE FUNCTIONS OF A SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE. THE VARIOUS POLITICAL FACTIONS AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY MUST HAVE CONFIDENCE IN THE ABILITY OF THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE TO ASSURE THE FREEDOM OF THE POLITICAL PROCESS. THAT CONFIDENCE WILL AFFECT REACTIONS ON THE PART OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO ANY SOUTH

AFRICAN TIMETABLE FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF ITS TROOPS AND AFFECT AS WELL THE LEVEL OF THE UN PRESENCE IN NAMIBIA AND THE ROLES IT WILL PLAY.

(IX) IN ADDITION, WE REPORTED TO YOU ON THE DISCUSSIONS OF THIS ASPECT WITH SWAPO.

(X) -- THE ISSUE OF THE WITHDRAWAL OF SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY FORCES FROM NAMIBIA AND ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE MAINTENANCE FOR SECURITY IS FUNDAMENTAL TO ACHIEVEMENT OF AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE AGREEMENT TO THE NAMIBIA QUESTION.

(XI) -- AS WE SEE IT THE VARIOUS POSITIONS ON THESE ISSUES MAY BE SUMMARIZED AS FOLLOWS:

A. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

1. ONE SIDE INSISTS THAT ALL SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY FORCES  
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MUST BE WITHDRAWN FROM NAMIBIA PRIOR TO THE BEGINNING OF POLITICAL CAMPAIGNING FOR THE ELECTION OF A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY TO DRAW UP A CONSTITUTION.

(XII) 2. THEY ARGUE THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN ARMY IS AN ILLEGAL ARMY OF OCCUPATION AND THAT FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS CANNOT BE HELD IN THE PRESENCE OF SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY FORCES.

(XIII) 3. THEY RECOGNIZE THE NECESSITY OF PROVISIONS FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF LAW AND ORDER AND FOR ASSURANCE THAT ANY AGREEMENTS REACHED WILL BE FAIRLY AND FAITHFULLY IMPLEMENTED. HOWEVER, THEY REJECT THAT THIS FUNCTION CAN OR SHOULD BE PERFORMED BY SOUTH AFRICA.

(XIV) 4. THEY ALSO HOLD THAT THESE FUNCTIONS CANNOT BE PERFORMED BY ETHNICALLY-BASED NAMIBIAN TROOPS ON GROUNDS THAT THESE ARE SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY UNITS; THAT THEY ARE A FURTHER STEP TOWARD ENTRENCHMENT ON THE VERY BASIS WHICH THE UN HAS REJECTED AND WHICH IS ONE OF THE ISSUES THE PEOPLE ARE TO DECIDE THROUGH AN ELECTED CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY; THAT THEY ARE ANTI-SWAPO; AND THAT IN THE LONG-TERM ETHNIC FORCES PROVIDE THE BASIS FOR A WEAK DECENTRALIZED NAMIBIA, POSSIBLY WITH CIVIL OR TRIBAL WARFARE.

(XV) 5. RATHER, THEY ARGUE THAT THE SITUATION IN NAMIBIA CALLS FOR THE PRESENCE OF UNITED NATIONS CONTINGENTS TO CONVINCE AN APPREHENSIVE PEOPLE THAT THEY INDEED CAN VOTE FREELY, TO ASSURE THE POPULATION, PARTICULARLY THE WHITES, THAT LAW AND ORDER WILL BE MAINTAINED, AND THAT OTHER TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS SUCH AS A CEASEFIRE ARE FULLY

IMPLEMENTED.

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(XVI) B. SOUTH AFRICA

AS WE UNDERSTAND IT, THE CONCERNS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN  
GOVERNMENT AND OF THOSE NAMIBIANS WHOSE VIEWS THE GOVERNMENT  
REFLECTS ARE AS FOLLOWS:

1. THERE MUST BE AN ASSURANCE THAT SWAPO, POSSIBLY  
WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF CUBAN FORCES STATIONED IN ANGOLA,  
WOULD NOT SIMPLY MARCH INTO (OR INFILTRATE) NAMIBIA AND  
PREVENT THE HOLDING OF FREE ELECTIONS, ESPECIALLY IN  
OVAMBOLAND WHERE THE MAJORITY OF THE POPULATION IS  
CONCENTRATED.

(XVII) 2. SOUTH AFRICA MAY ALSO SPECULATE THAT THE  
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INSTALLATION IN NAMIBIA OF WHAT IT CONSIDERS A HOSTILE GOVERNMENT WOULD HAVE GRAVE SECURITY CONSEQUENCES FOR SOUTH AFRICA ITSELF.

(XVIII) 3. THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT FEELS A RESPONSIBILITY AND INDEED HAS GIVEN CERTAIN ASSURANCES TO RESIDENTS OF NAMIBIA THAT AN ORDERLY TRANSITION WILL TAKE PLACE AND THAT LIFE AND PROPERTY WILL BE PROTECTED.

(XIX) 4. SUBSTITUTION OF SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES BY PEACEKEEPING FORCES OF THE UNITED NATIONS IS VIEWED WITH DISTRUST ON THE GROUNDS EITHER THAT THE UNITED NATIONS IS NOT NEUTRAL OR THAT UN FORCES WOULD NOT STAND UP TO A DETERMINED SWAPO.

(XX) AS A RESULT OF THESE CONSIDERATIONS SOUTH AFRICA'S PRESENT POSITION ON WITHDRAWAL WOULD APPEAR TO BE AS FOLLOWS:

A. SOUTH AFRICA HAS INDICATED A WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER A PHASED WITHDRAWAL OF ITS MILITARY FORCES, SUBJECT TO AN UNDERTAKING BY SWAPO TO CEASE ARMED ACTION AND TO CLOSE ITS CAMPS.

(XXI) B. HOWEVER, ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS SINCE APRIL THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN ASKED BY THE CONTACT GROUP TO DRAW UP, FOR DISCUSSION, A PLAN FOR THE PHASED AND PROGRESSIVE WITHDRAWAL OF SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY FORCES BUT NO PLAN HAS BEEN SUBMITTED.

(XXII) C. ON THE CONTRARY, SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT STATEMENTS SEEM TO IMPLY THAT LITTLE OR NO WITHDRAWAL OF SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY FORCES SHOULD TAKE PLACE PRIOR TO THE INSTALLATION OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT -- POSSIBLY IN THE BELIEF THAT THE NEW GOVERNMENT WILL ASK SOUTH AFRICA TO REMAIN.  
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(XXIII) D. TO THE EXTENT THAT SOUTH AFRICA SEEMS WILLING TO WITHDRAW SOME OF ITS FORCES, IT IS ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT ETHNICALLY-BASED NAMIBIAN FORCES AND SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY PERSONNEL WHO ELECT NAMIBIAN CITIZENSHIP WILL CONSTITUTE THE NEW ARMY IN NAMIBIA.

(XXIV) -- IT IS DIFFICULT TO RECONCILE THE CONFLICTING VIEWS OF THE TWO SIDES EVEN IF QUESTIONS OF LEGALITY ARE SET ASIDE: RECONCILIATION IS MADE MORE DIFFICULT BY THE PROFOUND SUSPICION WITH WHICH SOUTH AFRICA'S INTENTIONS ARE VIEWED. IN ADDITION THERE IS SOUTH AFRICA'S SUSPICION OF UN PEACEKEEPING FORCES, WHO NORMALLY WOULD BE CONSIDERED SUFFICIENTLY NEUTRAL SO AS TO PROVIDE A BRIDGE BETWEEN

THE TWO POSITIONS. AS A PRACTICAL MATTER, IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT THE EXPRESS POSITION OF NEITHER SIDE CAN BE FULLY MET. OUR TASK, THEN, IS TO ESTABLISH A PLAN FOR THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD WHICH TRIES TO MEET THE LEGITIMATE CONCERNS OF EACH SIDE.

(XXV) -- THE CONCERNS EXPRESSED BY EACH SIDE ENABLE US TO IDENTIFY A NUMBER OF SECURITY-RELATED FUNCTIONS WHICH MUST BE PERFORMED IN THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD AND THE PERIOD IMMEDIATELY THEREAFTER. THESE ARE:

A) TO OBSERVE AND ENFORCE A CEASEFIRE;  
(XXVI) B) TO MAINTAIN THE INTEGRITY OF NAMIBIA'S BORDERS TO AS (1) TO ENSURE THAT THERE IS NO INFILTRATION OR UNAUTHORIZED ENTRY INTO THE COUNTRY; AND (2) TO ENSURE THAT THOSE NAMIBIANS WHO WISH TO DO SO CAN RETURN PEACEFULLY AND WITHOUT INTIMIDATION AT DESIGNATED ENTRY POINTS.

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(XXVI) C) TO ENSURE THAT THERE IS NO INTIMIDATION FROM ANY QUARTER;



(XXVII) D) TO MAINTAIN LAW AND ORDER;

(XXVIII) E) TO MONITOR AGREEMENTS RELATING TO MILITARY  
WITHDRAWAL; AND

(XXIV) F) TO DEVELOP A NAMIBIA MILITARY FORCE.

(XXXI) AN ILLUSTRATIVE PLAN FOR SECURITY IN NAMIBIA DURING  
THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD.

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1. BOTH PARTIES WOULD ENTER INTO A CEASEFIRE WHICH WOULD  
BE OBSERVED AND MONITORED BY THE UNITED NATIONS.

(XXXII) 2. THE MILITARY FORCES OF EACH SIDE WOULD BE  
CONFINED TO PRESENTLY ESTABLISHED BASES.

(XXXIII) 3. THERE WOULD BE PROGRESSIVE CONSOLIDATION AND  
WITHDRAWAL OF SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES TO SOUTH AFRICA  
AT PHASED INTERVALS SPREAD EQUALLY OVER A PERIOD OF THREE  
(OR POSSIBLY FOUR) MONTHS (FROM THE DATE OF THE CEASEFIRE)  
LEAVING A SMALL CONTINGENT CONFINED AT GROOTFONTEIN.  
THAT CONTINGENT WOULD BE WITHDRAWN IMMEDIATELY  
AFTER THE ELECTION FOR THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY.

(XXXIV) 4. DURING THIS PERIOD, SWAPO MEMBERS WOULD RETURN  
WITHOUT ARMS TO PARTICIPATE PEACEFULLY IN THE ELECTION  
CAMPAIGN.

(XXXV) UNITED NATIONS MILITARY PERSONNEL (THE NUMBER TO  
BE DETERMINED BY OPERATIONAL REQUIREMENTS) WOULD BE INTRODUCED  
TO PERFORM THE FOLLOWING TASKS:

(A) MONITORING THE CEASEFIRE;

(B) MONITORING CONFINEMENT AND WITHDRAWAL;

(C) MONITORING THE BORDERS;

(D) ASSISTING, AS NECESSARY, IN THE MAINTENANCE  
OF LAW AND ORDER-- A TASK WHICH IS THE PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY  
OF THE POLICE.

(XXXVI) 5. IN ADDITION, WE ENVISAGE A ROLE FOR THE UN IN  
ASSISTING IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF A NAMIBIAN ARMY.

(XXXVII) 6. THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL IN COOPERATION  
WITH THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WILL DETERMINE  
WHICH AND UNDER WHAT CONDITIONS EDUCATIONAL, MEDICAL,  
AGRICULTURAL, AND OTHER SERVICES CURRENTLY PERFORMED BY  
MILITARY PERSONNEL SHOULD BE CONTINUED.

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(XXXVIII) 7. ALL ETHNIC NAMIBIAN FORCES WOULD BE DISBANDED.  
IN THE CASE OF THE BUSHMEN, WHO REPORTEDLY LIVE ON BASE  
WITH THEIR FAMILIES, THE UNITS WOULD BE DEACTIVATED AND  
DISARMED AND SOUTH AFRICAN OFFICERS WITHDRAWN. FAMILIES  
WOULD BE PERMITTED TO REAMIN AT BASE PENDING FUTURE  
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